1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

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286 converted to Islam by the invading Mahdi in the late 19th century, some of whom never reconverted to Christianity after the end of the invasion. This latter group speaks Amharic, but the Coptic Amhara refuse to call them Amhara. In turn, the Muslims call the Copts "Kaffir", infidels, which is considered an insult. Though socially segregated, Muslim weavers are often called to make shammas in the back yard of a Coptic Amhara house, returning to their own homes at dusk.

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464 In the province of Shoa, and the southern, non-Amhara provinces, the Amhara conquered much land in the late 19th century, acquiring millions of Galla and other "gabbar", sharecropping peasants with a status somewhat resembling that of medieval European serfs. They still constitute an important category of labor, though they can leave the land if they are willing to abandon everything (which they rarely do). During the reign of the present emperor their lot has improved, and it is the Galla who are at present experiencing the most remarkable mobility in occupation of any group in Ethiopia. The numbers affected by the change are small, but the principle of this mobility cannot be exaggerated. Even Menelik II, conqueror of the Galla, had noticed how easily he could win them over to serve under his military banner, partly because of their in-tribal dissention, partly due to their fierce loyalty to any chief to whom they have sworn allegiance. Today a number are in positions of the central government, and many Galla officials and clerks are sent out to the old Amhara provinces, even to Gondar, to govern and administer their erstwhile conquerors

466 house, a church, a simple bridge, help in harvest, make charcoal and gather incense for the church, conduct pack animals on military expeditions, function as guard or sacristan, Amhara labor thus includes the agricultural worker of many semi-skills, who usually hires on in March when the little rains launch the plowing season, and who must furnish a "was", a personal guarantor who will be responsible for the employee's conduct, and agree on time, energy to be expended and wages to be received.

465 At present the wage is about Eth$30.- per month for full-time labor, 6 days a week, sunrise to sunset (12 hours, less about 3-5 hours rest); plus free food (usually simple) and a place to sleep inside a hut or temporary shelter; clothing is at the employee's expense. Important church holidays are observed, and leave is usually granted to take care of personal affairs, in the case of an Amhara -Coptic employee. The master may not beat or haze the employee, on penalty of a fine levied by the "cheqa shum".

464 Thus, even the poor Amhara laborer retains his pride, but causes the employer to look for labor among socially lower ethnic groups or even Shanqalla ex-slaves who have remained, largely in Amhara territory after liberation. The employer pays these less, works them more, even on church holidays since many of them are still non-Christian. In proud Begemdir (Gondar) province, where no Galla or Gurage ethnics are available for labor (as they are in Shoa), unskilled labor is a

real problem, and for modern tasks has to be brought from southern provinces, or Eritrea (as the Italians, as well as Point IV have found out).

The pattern in the former feudal military service was one of greater pride and prestige even for the poorest Amhara. The feudal-military chief had to clothe, house and feed his men, and could never use them for hard labor, such as agriculture--especially plowing--even when he had no temporary work for them. They were quartered with peasants whom they exploited like serfs, and since the chief paid no wages, he assigned his soldiers "gult" land, often on a temporary basis, which included the peasants who usually were non-Copts and did not have the protection of either church or cheqa shum.

Though actual slavery has now been abolished, its recent existence still affects the pattern of unskilled and semi-skilled labor, and introduces an important element which differs from the otherwise similar picture of early post-feudal Europe. Most of the slaves were Shanqalla (negroid) or Barya (Nilotic); plus some Galla and other south Ethiopian, more-African groups. Since they could not be sold if baptized Christian, the master was not interested in their conversion; the church despised these different lowlanders as unfit to be "raised to Christianity", in the Amhara phrase. If a master desired to free a loyal slave, the method was to have him baptized, on which occasion he would acquire a Christian godfather who would henceforth protect him from sale and insist that he be declared and remain free. Until

567 then a slave had no legal personality and his master was responsible for any damages or crimes he might commit.

Though it was illegal, no one interfered with a master who killed his non-Christian slave. The offspring of an Amhara father and slave mother had full legitimacy and rights of inheritance, but the child of a free woman and a male slave--a rarity--remained a slave and belonged to whoever had rights over her, i.e. her husband, or her parents if she was unmarried. In the province of Godjam a slave could own his own skins, till allocated field of his own in own spare time, and trade his grain on the market, so that he resembled a serf of medieval Europe, but belonged to his master, not to the soil

464 567 Much of the labor available today in the rural Amhara provinces, especially Begemder, is of Shanqalla or semi-Shanqalla and half-Barya origin (ie. with an Amhara father and ex-slave mother). There are many of these half-negroids because of generations of concubinage, and because of the simplicity of the ecological life of the Amhara which can be regarded as a levelling factor, and good harvests or wartime famines were almost equally enjoyed or suffered by master as well as slave. Free Amhara peasant women and slave women did the same type of work, even crushed barley together at the same time in the same hollow treetrunk (a frequent scene in paintings). Liberation, in the past, of individual slaves, was rare, for not only was it a loss to the master equal to 3 pairs of oxen, or 2to3 good huts, or

464 567 an entire harvest, but the slave would suddenly find himself without a protector, without food and shelter, separated from his own (Shanqalla) people since birth and not knowing their language or their customs.

When liberation was decreed by Emperor Haile Selassie in 1941/2, many ex-slaves remained with their old masters or attached themselves as retainers to a new one, to have a basic livelihood and protection in court against hurt or insult from strangers. The fact that slave trading had been forbidden by Haile Selassie since 1924, and been gradually enforced since then, had increased the personal attachment of slaves not only to the master but to his entire extended family from which they could no longer be sold. After 1942, those ex-slaves who did leave their former masters often settled in makeshift shacks in towns, usually in the section formerly assigned to Muslims, and they now constitute an important potential labor supply in the towns.

463 464 The second category[1] includes semi-specializations of some poorer Coptic Amhara who, in addition to some farming, do such work as making charcoal ("käsäl" or "dengay Käsäl"), as soon as themajor harvest is over. They then move in small teams, usually kinfolk, into the drying river valleys where suitable wood is more plentiful, and later sell their product in towns, to restaurateurs, on the big and little markets, or to smiths and potters. Since this trade is "one that anyone can learn", non-occult, there is nothing slavish about it to the mind of the Amhara, and the loss of

[1] [of part time labor (see p.215, cat.116).-Analyst]

463 prestige involved is slight--occurring only if there is
464 kinfolk nearby shamed by such manual labor. It is on a social level with the gathering of kosso-bark by a poor Amhara woman.

463 [324] Some farmers have a part-time specialty of fashioning the stone used as mano by the housewife when she grinds grain. They are called "wäqari". No shame is involved; it is considered like a hobby, like whittling away at wood.

[693 554] Some heads of farming families are adept at "talking well in court" for which they achieve great prestige--the major method of achieving prestige. They are called "täbäqa" lawyers, and not full-time specialists since all they can expect, if they win the case, is a bellyful of barley beer or an occasional gift, but they are guests of honor at the victory feasts and "men of reknown".

A large number of semi-specialists fall into the [231] category of caretakers, "täbaqi". Cowherds and shepherds, if they are grown men not useful at anything else, are included in this category.

463 265 Part-time employment is found by the former feudal chamberlain, "agafari", at big weddings of landholding peasants or in towns. They act as caterers, order the bread, meat, beer, mead, etc. They are experts at headwaiting, and know just whom to seat at what table or around which "mäsob", according to rank, and they indicate to each servant to whom to serve beer and to whom the more expensive and more noble mead. This was

1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

463 265 once a noble profession, requiring much intelligence and training, but now a handsome cash gift, partly for the wedded couple and partly as a tip, can introduce a non-prestigeful guest to the table of the nobles. The profession has thus dropped to the level of the itinerant musician, the "azmari", and brings neither prestige nor any particular shame.

463 532 A still honorable semi-specialization is that of the painter of religious or religious-royal themes in the church, the "seel-sali". He is often a layman loosely attached to the church, who learned his craft while attending church school and then apprenticed himself to a master painter. He is often hired by an individial landlord or well-to-do, often aging, pious Amhara man or noble lady, who wish to make this gift to the church and often order the painter to paint in a small, modest likeness of themselves or their recently departed parents. (See section of art).

464 The third category of "damoz"[1] labor is traditionally found in the rural areas primarily in the case of the temporary marriage. The availability of ex-slaves rarely makes it necessary to hire on any but temporary agricultural labor, for it would be too expensive and difficult to hire Amhara labor. There is, however, a type of day laborer, "mwayatänya", or simply "seratänya" (worker), who is now paid about 2Eth$1.- a day, and can be hired for some temporary job without the other involvements sich as leave for church holidays and [illegible]-visiting. A poor Amhara will sometimes hire on for some ready cash,

[1] [i.e. "temporary" - see p.215, cat.116. -Analyst]

464 and be willing to forego his usual demands, temporarily. During the caravan season, some will hire on as mule-drivers for a round trip. Otherwise the day laborer is rare among rural Amhara, and met more often only in provincial capitals and the few cities.

D. Labor and the market-town.

464 Laborers hiring on in the towns for temporary work (e.g. in construction) do so usually through a labor broker. There are no organized factories in the provincial towns, only a few small ones in the main cities, and [467] there is not yet such a modern development as a labor union. Child and female labor is widespread and almost entirely [465] unskilled. A laborer's daily wage was equated with 25¢ Ethiopian, by clause 6 of the Penal Code of 1930, but the present rate actively paid for urban labor of Amhara is Eth$1.-per day. The Emperor's factory proclamation of 1944 authorized the Ministry of Commerce to regulate hours and conditions of labor, but this actually anticipates future conditions and finds little application at present.

357 466 The household servant in the town usually hires out on a monthly basis. The traditional, personal guarantor and 2 witnesses of wage agreement are still necessary. The salary may now be as high as Eth$40.-. The servant is also fed and housed, and if he stays some months may keep any clothing given him. Moreover, his

875 grades, in the Amhara areas, sometimes also in the south.
871 Most elementary school teachers in the provincial capitals are East Indians, except that Amharic and Coptic religion are taught by Amhara. A graduate of an elementary school can take a job as a teacher himself and begin with a wage of Eth$125.-a month; or as a municipal clerk with about equal income, which places them in the upper income group. Even a graduate of the 5th grade can earn Eth$50.- as a clerk on the bottom rung of the "educated". Or he may secure a teaching job in a church school near his home, and then go to the court of the bishop and wait about ("daj tena") until the great man notices him and confirms him in his job.

871 In view of the high cash value of modern education, almost everyone wishes to enter, though fathers are still reluctant to part with the services of their sons, in cattle herding and harvest-watching, until the boys are 11 years old, so that graduates of elementary schools are frequently 19 years old. The elementary schools are still so few (though increasing) that only the sons of influential "great men" usually manage to be admitted. Secondary schools are available primarily in Addis Ababa, not in provincial Amhara capitals, and there nearly all the teachers are Europeans. Graduates of secondary schools become upper-level government officials.

464 The preference of Amhara individuals to hire on
632 only for temporary labor, if at all, finds its expression and variation in the market town. Here many events that bring variety into his fairly monotonous rural life,

464 632 happen and can be talked about. Here caravans arrive with all kinds of trade goods, and though the Amhara is not a trader in his culture pattern, he does hire on as transportation helper, and will have his own donkey carry some goods for sale.

443 There is a small daily market in each town. Where no town is near, one day a week a small rural market takes place (e.g. every Tuesday at Maqwamiya in the district of Seqelt) so that farmer and trader can meet Monday through Friday, at these markets set up at crossroads, in a grove of trees, or near a church center.

The big Saturday market takes place in a town terminal of caravan routes; nowadays at the end of an Italian road, also, e.g. at Golarba in Dembea, where Italian trente-quatro trucks carry imports and exports to Asmara, Eritrea, and the coast, while caravans carry goods from and to the Sudan. Gondar town is an older and bigger Saturday market. To these markets are brought surplus farm products. All routes lead to it, and the well-to-do ride there on mules, their servants beating out a road for them among pack donkeys and pedestrians. In return, Ethiopian retailers (often Muslim) sell goods bought from Arab wholesalers.

While there is some duplication of items of sale at these markets, the daily markets specialize in items used by or obtained from the household: fresh butter sold on a leaf, to put on the hair; melted butter for cooking in "wot"; red barbare pods of varying strength,

563 "Barya" people below the northwest escarpment, so that
567 both terms became synonymous with "slave". Because of the negroid features of the former, and the very black skin of both, they had high visibility, and did not have to be guarded closely as they could hardly escape. In view of the widespread illiteracy, manumission was almost never practiced, and such a document would be ignored by a slave trader or any Amhara who wanted to re-enslave a manumitted Shanqalla or Barya. Until slave-trading was prohibited by the present emperor, negroid slaves were still brought from the Gumuz tribe of Guara sub-province, just below the western, old-
588 Amhara escarpment. But concubinage was so widespread that today there are more half-Shanqalla than full-blooded ex-slaves. Freed only since 1942, little change has so far taken place in their social status. In rural areas most remain with their old masters as
464 servants or sharecroppers. In towns, they form a pool of unskilled labor, employed only briefly from time to time, subsisting on very little, residing in the oldest parts of the old Muslim ghetto. Some of their women have
357 managed to raise their economic status by becoming house-maids, especially serving the women on the "street of unattached girls", or by marrying polygynous Muslims.

563 The Coptic church had not interested itself in
567 the status of slaves, for according to its rules a
797 Christian could not be kept in slavery, and therefore no attempt was made to convert Shanqalla or Barya slaves.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

they have come too far along the road of modernity to return to what they regard as the hard and thankless lot of the traditional adolescent, and so are forced to find some place in the modernizing sector of society. Since Ethiopia's modernizing sector has so far provided only the secondary school system as a means of integrating its youth, the eighth-grade examination certificate constitutes a ticket to the future which must be obtained at all costs.

At the same time that this examination was acquiring its momentous significance in the lives of Ethiopia's youth, the proportion of students who passed it was becoming progressively smaller. By 1959, efforts by Ministry of Education officials to raise academic standards and to adjust the number of eligible students to the number of openings in secondary schools resulted in the failing of some sixty per cent of those who took the examination, a situation which provoked nearly riotous protests by students in Addis Ababa.[11]

Such conditions have laden the eighth-grade examination with more awesomeness and terror than a puberty rite. Worries about the exam preoccupy most seventh and eighth graders, and their anxiety is compounded by the attitudes of their school directors, for whom the proportion of passing students has tended to become the primary index of success. The weeks before the exam are filled with frantic cramming on the part of teachers as well as students. It is no wonder that such pressures have on occasion led students to purchase actual or alleged copies of the exam in advance from ministry employees or their go-betweens, an offense which has been sternly dealt with by the ministry.

Those students who do not pass the eighth-grade exam or who, because of family pressures, low ability, or other reasons, leave school before completing the eighth grade, move to the margin of Ethiopian society. If attendance at a secondary school or beyond may be taken as the defining characteristic of a "modern adolescent" in Ethiopia, since that signifies their participation in the one institutionalized pattern of secondary socialization in the modern sector, these young people are neither traditional adolescents nor fully modern, but fall in an interstitial category. Having caught a glimpse of some brave new world in their early schooling, they find themselves cast adrift, in the prime of their adolescence, in a no-man's region between traditional society and the promised land. In some cases they manage to make a rapid adjustment; more often, only their youthful energy saves them from total despair.

These marginal adolescents normally drift to Addis Ababa, if they are not already there, and lead the most precarious sorts of lives. They live as loiterers on the streets and byways of the capital. They go from school to school, begging for a place; or from office to office, looking for some sort of work, which they are unlikely to find if they do not have a relative in an influential position. It is so hard to find employment without at least an eighth-grade certifi-

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

cate that boys sometimes borrow the certificates of more successful friends and enter jobs under those assumed names. Often they live for many months with no livelihood at all. Eventually, some find work as houseboys, shine shoes, or peddle merchandise on the streets; others, on an impulse, sign up for life in one of the military services. Still others are reduced to begging, or stealing, or concocting stories with which to extract help from sympathetic foreigners.

The lives of such boys, whose number is large and steadily growing, are among the chief casualties of Ethiopia's transition to date. As they increase, their misery will become more vocal, and they may constitute an element of political unrest. Whether or not they become a political problem, they are already a social problem.

The modern adolescents, by contrast, comprise a small and determinate number.* In 1958–59, the year in which my research on them began, there were all together about 3,900 students in the academic secondary schools, 3,350 in other special schools at the secondary level, and 760 students at the post-secondary level. One source of information on these students was a questionnaire which was completed by 700 students: 500 at the secondary level, including 40 female students, in a total of 15 schools, and 200 male students in five colleges.[12] Some of the findings from this survey will be woven into the following text where appropriate.

Compared to the rest of their countrymen, and certainly those of the same age, the modern adolescents have lived in luxury. Most students at the secondary level, and all those at the college level, have been boarding students. At no cost to themselves or their parents, they have received full board and room, a token allotment of clothes, and their books. Day students have received instead a monthly allowance of Eth$20,† approximately the same amount that unskilled laborers earn for full-time work. Tuition is also free for all full-time Ethiopian students at all levels.

These "welfare school" conditions were designed to make further education attractive and possible for Ethiopian students, nearly all of whose families either can not or are unwilling to support their children for many years in school. In this, the parents are following long established Amhara custom, for in the traditional society boys who went off to church schools often did so, as we have seen, without the support of their parents, and in any case were expected to gain their livelihood by begging. Nowadays, if their children are admitted to one of the government secondary schools, even tradition-minded

* And one that grows steadily. In 1958 there were twenty-eight government secondary schools in the empire. By 1964 the number had increased to forty-seven.

† One Ethiopian dollar is equal to (U.S.) forty cents.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

Programs of vocational guidance and counseling have not yet been instituted.* Students who manage to form clear and definite ambitions also suffer for want of help, if for some reason they have been shunted away from the appropriate training program, or have been deprived of opportunities to prepare adequately for the vocations to which they aspire. Two research findings bear on this. In one study it was found that "few secondary school administrators when questioned are aware of the ambitions and desires of their students," and that less than twenty per cent of the group of secondary school students surveyed felt they had received training "suitable to their ambitions."[20] In my own survey it appeared that fewer than twenty per cent of the secondary school students expect to enter the occupation they actually want to.

In addition to this discontinuity between childhood experience and the hitherto unknown necessity of making some sort of vocational choice, modern adolescence also involves a sharp break between the experience of post-elementary school and the process of getting on a payroll. Here the Ethiopian youth faces the problems of students everywhere as they leave school for the "real world." In at least two respects, however, his dilemma is more acute than that of his counterpart in Western societies. Because virtually all jobs are controlled by the government, and because the government is still organized along traditional lines, the Ethiopian graduate must suddenly forget the universalistic criteria of school and acclimate himself to the traditional pattern of ingratiating oneself with those in positions of power—a pattern referred to as *daj ţenät* —if he is to gain and retain a decent job. For many graduates there is no machinery that might assist them in locating a job: no job advertisements, employment bureaus, not even effective personnel departments in most quarters.

The school system itself, however, does manage in certain cases to find jobs for its graduates. For the foreign-educated returnees a special placement board was set up within the Ministry of Education. The locally educated are placed, if at all, by their individual schools, depending on the policy of the school, the resourcefulness of its director, the demands of the market, and current political emphases.

The outlook for graduates of the various specialized vocational programs has been in recent years as follows. A consistently high demand for teachers has assured jobs for graduates of the various teachers training programs. Graduates of the commercial school have been in great demand because of the increasing bureaucratization of government and the slight expansion of commerce. The public health college had great difficulty in the placement of its

* Since this was written the University's Department of Education has begun to produce a series of career pamphlets for secondary school students.

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graduates in the late fifties, but the government's implementation of a program of public health centers has opened up increasing opportunities for their employment. Graduates of the school of social work have been placed in positions with little difficulty.

On the other hand, in those areas in which the government has shown little or no interest the school authorities have been hard put to find employment for their graduates. This was shown most dramatically in the case of the now defunct community development training project at Majete, whose graduates were allowed to drift into oblivion due to the absence of an effective community development program in the country. Those who have completed courses of study in agriculture have not been extensively employed by the government because of chronic disorganization and neglect in the Ministry of Agriculture, while lack of capital and know-how has tended to keep them from private agricultural enterprise. Graduates of the technical and engineering schools have been having some difficulty in entering the work force due to the slow pace of Ethiopia's industrial development. Graduates of general academic programs, finally, and those who drop out before completing some course of study, tend to be left to their own devices.

While the modernizing sector, then, has introduced the revolutionary notion of vocation and has institutionalized means of training young Ethiopians for modern work roles, it has not yet provided adequate mechanisms either for guiding them into and through the training programs or for employing them properly once they are trained.

Preparation for Marriage

Conditions of growing up in the modernizing sector have disrupted the harmonious pattern of Amhara adolescence also with respect to entrance into adult family roles. Conflicts arise both from postponement of the normal age for marriage and from radically new ideas about the nature of marriage.

The modern adolescent typically expects to marry at an age that is at least eight to ten years older than his traditional counterpart. While Amhara girls have traditionally married in their early teens, girls in the senior class of secondary school now say they expect to marry in their early twenties. Amhara boys have traditionally married around the age of twenty, but those in post-elementary schools now expect to marry in their late twenties or early thirties.

This shift is due to a desire to attain as much education as possible, and above all, for the boys, to the precarious economic position of modern adolescents. While living on his father's farm an Amhara boy could marry early with the assurance of having enough land to work to support his family at least at subsistence level. The modern boy who finishes secondary school or

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

appeared to the students as the source of their new goods; of their learning, health, and well-being. Because of a feeling that "he supplies everything" and "he is my guardian," students of all grades have been among the most sincere and enthusiastic supporters of Haile Selassie. So their adoption of Western patterns has from the outset been legitimated by the highest traditional authority, and the harshness of the culture clash has been softened by the symbolization of both tradition and modernity in the Imperial Person. Here the traditional pattern of "functional deviance" re-asserts itself. The adolescent rebels against the traditional demands of his parents, but expends that deviant energy on behalf of legitimate symbols of the national society.

Related to this was a strong sense of national purposiveness. *Agarēnennā negusēn tammrē iredālhu* ("Having studied, I will serve my country and my king")—this was the motto of most Ethiopian students in the forties and fifties. The conspicuous needs of their country provided clear goals in terms of which students felt they were preparing themselves.

Still another motive force was the need for personal justification. The many students who in a sense deserted their home villages or families in order to spend years in school carried with them an ambition eventually to show the folks back home that they were right after all. This involved the conviction that going to school was the right, at times the righteous, thing: a blind faith that simply by continuing along the road of education they would make good in the world and return home some day as a sort of hero. Here, too, is an echo of the old deviant pattern: the renegade returning home, after many years, as a successful churchman or warlord.

The economic situation, finally, was encouraging for students. It seemed for many years that advanced training, including study abroad, would be available for whoever qualified, and that the demand for educated personnel was so great that the job opportunities for students would be endless.

By 1961, however, all these sources of adolescent morale—royal legitimation, national purpose, personal justification, and economic opportunity—had been to some extent undercut. Some of the changing circumstances have already been referred to. The effect of the rebellion of December, 1960, and its aftermath was to weaken the tie between Haile Selassie and the post-elementary students. With his moral authority somewhat undermined, the students could no longer use him to symbolize a conflict-free transition to modernity. Nor could they any longer count on him to "supply everything" indefinitely: in the summer of 1962 the Emperor announced the immediate suspension of room and board benefits for the students of the University College.

The students' outlook has further been rendered less sanguine by the confusion attending the political crisis of the sixties. They no longer feel the keen sense of national purpose, to serve "country and king." Their ideals in this regard were already weakening before the rebellion by virtue of increased

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

awareness of the political realities in the Ethiopian government. They had also begun to doubt the transcendent efficacy of the educational process itself after observing the behavior of those educated Ethiopians who went before them and inevitably became their ideals. The violation of various traditional and modern norms by the latter, and their evident demoralization, raised many questions in the minds of the students.

Finally, the students were made more anxious by a general constricting of opportunity. Increased numbers in the school system meant a steady intensification of the competition to gain and hold on to a place in secondary school and college, particularly since 1959. The rapid filling of jobs by the educated youth and steadily growing numbers of unemployed youth began to create anxieties about finding work in the future.

From the viewpoint of the modern adolescents, then, a very supportive and stimulating environment in the fifties has changed to a somewhat threatening and confused environment in the sixties. It is in this decade that Ethiopia's leaders of the future, that tiny fraction of one per cent of the population who reach secondary school, are coming to experience adolescence as a real normative crisis. At a time when, in the highly modernized society of the United States, observers like Friedenberg charge that the adolescent condition is becoming obsolete—that scope is no longer afforded the young person for exploration and discovery of an authentic self[28]—in the transitional state of Ethiopia this condition is being thrust on the youth. The decisions they make now, the identities they forge, will largely determine the extent to which reason and creativity will have a place in Ethiopia's future.

The effort of the Ethiopian government to provide a modern education for some of Ethiopia's adolescents illustrates a principle discussed in another context by Karl Mannheim, namely, the characterization of youth as a latent sociological resource which must be mobilized when any social system seeks to change itself. It is a resource analogous to the latent energy reserves which are available to biological organisms when they must make a fresh adjustment to their environment.[29] Thus far the effort to mobilize the resources of Ethiopia's youth in behalf of modernization has proceeded chiefly through a pattern of increased *differentiation:* establishing a structure of secondary socialization separate from that of the traditional structures and thereby transmitting new beliefs, skills, and values to the youth. As yet, relatively little has been done with respect to the problems of devising modes of *integration* commensurate with these new differentiated patterns. The analyses of this chapter suggest the presence of what might be called "integration gaps" on at least three levels. On the level of the individual personality, there is the problem of synthesizing the various aspects of traditional and modern culture which have been transmitted to Ethiopian adolescents through diverse sources. Inasmuch as the external supports which cushioned these conflicts in the fifties are no

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

past. The intellectuals are the product of a secular school system which is, as we have seen, a structure foreign to Abyssinian tradition. Their members are drawn from all parts of Ethiopian society, and in almost no cases consist of Western-educated members of the old group of literati, the *dabtarā*. The question of their integration into what has remained an essentially traditional social system has thus been Ethiopia's main sociological dilemma during the present decade. We shall return to this question after considering the composition and general situation of the intellectual class.

Whatever his line of work, the Ethiopian intellectual tends to be employed by the government, since employment opportunities in the private sector are still extremely limited; and where such exist, the government has often claimed priority over the intellectual's services by virtue of its having educated him. Many of the intellectuals work as public administrators, in the middle echelons of the government bureaucracy, with the titles of "assistant," "director," and "director general"; and there has been a growing tendency to appoint them in the higher levels, especially since 1961. Hundreds of them now work as teachers in the elementary and secondary schools,* and some six dozen teach at the college level. A small but growing number are employed as physicians, medical workers, engineers, and legal advisers in various government institutions. Still another group works in the small communications field—on the staffs of the various newspapers, the patriotic monthly *Menen*, and Radio Addis Ababa. The small group holding jobs outside the government works as engineers and bureaucrats in industrial firms, as employees of the Ethiopian Air Lines, or have small commercial or agricultural enterprises of their own.

With respect to interaction among the intellectuals, however, the most important distinction among them has been the place where they received their education. Here we may speak of two main groups: those who received part of their education abroad, the "foreign-educated" or "returnees"; and those who received all their education in Ethiopia, the "local-educated" or "locals."†

The Returnees

Close to two hundred Ethiopians studied abroad prior to the Italian occupation. Since French was then the official European language in Ethiopia,

* About forty-five hundred Ethiopians, of varying levels of educational attainment, were teaching in government schools of all types in 1960–61, according to the Ministry of Education school census for that year.

† This term is used as a neutral descriptive category, free from any negative connotations it may have acquired when first coined by the returnees. More recently, the West African term "been-to" has been incorporated into Amharic for referring to the returnee.

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

571 829 respects. They are not anchored in a *conscience collective.* They are islands of clarity in a sea of confusion that becomes evident in remarks like the following:

> While we were in high school here, we still followed the old beliefs. We went abroad and lost them all. Nothing has yet replaced them. We have no beliefs—in any sphere—religion, social, politics.
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> • • • •
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> We are all of us confused today. Perhaps it is that the change has come too fast. At any rate, we have lost our values. We don't know what is best for us to do.
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> • • • •
>
> I don't believe there is anyone in the entire country who knows where we are heading or where we should be heading.

This confusion is the confusion of all Ethiopia today, but because the returnees became so deeply involved in Western culture while abroad they alone have experienced it so acutely. Were they engaged in satisfying work and enmeshed in family obligations, moreover, such malaise would be reduced. Precisely in these fundamental areas, however, the returnees are typically frustrated.

571 464 The burden of the returnees' frustration in work has not been to locate employment, but to find meaningful employment. It is true that several of the foreign-educated have had to wait for months, in some cases for over a year, after returning to Ethiopia before they were actually given employment. With the establishment of a placement board for returned students in the Ministry of Education about 1955, this difficulty has been minimized. The more fundamental problem has been that the institutional system has been insufficiently modernized to make proper use of individuals who had acquired specialized training abroad. There has been great variability of experience in this regard. Many of the technical intelligentsia have found suitable positions, especially those in the fields of medicine and engineering, and have led quite productive and satisfying work lives since shortly after their return. Many others, however, have been demoralized by the experience of having to occupy simple administrative positions which anyone with a little common sense could handle, or by being saddled with purely administrative responsibilities even when initially placed in a technical job. In such circumstances they have found themselves forgetting most of what they learned while abroad and felt themselves not being used.

571 466 Even when located in work broadly commensurate with their training received abroad, the returnees have been frustrated by numerous hardships in the work situation and by the difficulties of reform. As might be expected, work facilities are generally inferior to those which the returnees became

11:Levine Z-4,5 (1958-1961)1965 MP5 Amhara MP5

brothels for dancing and more intimate relations. (Returnees normally do not have patience for the shy, traditional girls; and they are too concerned about public opinion to be seen visiting brothels. When they or the locals do visit the brothels, it is often by way of a backdoor entrance.) When they marry, the locals almost invariably choose a traditional type of wife with relatively little education and with whom they expect to have an authoritarian relationship.

In sum: the local is not so afflicted by those problems which derive from the central dilemma of the returnee—how to fulfil himself according to modern standards in an intractable, traditional environment. The local's dilemma typically lies in a different realm, that of economic and social mobility. Whereas the returnee has been given a comparatively high income and status almost as a matter of course, the local has normally started his work life with a relatively low salary and little prestige. If the returnee has felt deprived relative to the Westerners in whose society he has lived, the local has felt deprived relative to the returnee.

The local lives on a day-to-day basis at a relatively simple standard. Though he shares the returnee's passion for woolen suits and, in many cases, for a car of his own, he is not, like the returnee, preoccupied with the quest for housing that conforms to Western standards. Except for those with extraordinary talents and family connections, the locals have had difficulty locating jobs that they feel are not beneath their dignity and which pay salaries sufficient to cover their relatively modest needs. They customarily receive a starting salary in the neighborhood of Eth$150. The more ambitious and fortunate among them have, by changing jobs, manipulating superiors, and improving skills, worked their way up to salaries in the Eth$400–$500 category. Some have become provincial teachers for a while, in order to accumulate money on which to live while shopping for a position in Addis Ababa and with which to influence some higher official to grant it to them. There remains a hard core of locals who feel they are underpaid and live in constant resentment of this situation.

This resentment has produced a general sort of negativism which characterizes many of the locals, a negativism expressed in the form of backbiting and denunciation of the higher government officials and the nobility generally. They decry social injustice and the uses of nepotism. They moralize profusely against those whom fortune has shown greater favors. But not all their social criticism is born of resentment. There are also among the locals many young men who are comfortably situated but fired by patriotic fervor with a desire for social reform.

The local is as deeply concerned about asserting his status vis-à-vis the less educated as he is to advance his position in the hierarchy. Locals are extreme-

12:Young E-4,5 (1966) 1971 MP5 Amhara MP5
Begemder

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bar maids.

A third, numerically significant minority have come from the provinces of Wollo to the east, and from Shoa and those areas still farther south. Local Amhara classify them together pejoratively as "Galla"[18], even [144] though many are in fact true Amhara. Although these "Galla" vary as to physical type, most are indistinguishable from local Amhara, and only a minority are markedly [779] negroid. Most are Copts or Muslims, although a few are [647] non-Coptic Christians. Most of the men are government employees, generally members of the provincial gendarmerie, which is headquartered in Gondar.

Three additional, numerically small, populations [562] also reside in Gondar. The Agaw are represented mainly [464] by girls and women working as servants for the less affluent townsfolk, and as beer sellers. Of the Nilotes [192] living here, the women work as servants for poor townsfolk, and both sexes haul wood from distant areas for [326] sale in the town's daily wood market (sir gabiya). The very few Falasha in Gondar are iron-mongers.

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Ward and Town. Gondar's residents divide the town

[18] The predominant ethnic group of southern Ethiopia, and, to Gondari Amhara, half-pagan and negroid ("bariya").